DUCCIO'S *MAESTÀ* OF 1302 FOR THE CHAPEL OF THE NOVE

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INASMUCH as the major work Duccio left us and the one which had a profound influence on subsequent painting was the *Maestà* he painted between 1308 and 1311 for the high altar of the Siena Cathedral, his name has come to be almost synonymous with that work. We think very little about that other *Maestà* of which the records speak, the one of 1302 for the Chapel of the Nove, the governing body of Siena, on the ground floor of the Palazzo Pubblico, a Maestà which has long since disappeared. The document of payment, which was published long ago by Rumohr, is as follows:

> December 4, 1302
> Also: 48 lire to master Duccio, painter, as his wage for a panel or, rather, Maestà which he made and for a predella, which are placed on the altar of the Palace of the Nove, where the service is said, and for which we have a voucher from the Nove.[1]

As the word "*Maestà*" suggests, the painting must have been an impressive enthroned Madonna with angels and perhaps saints around her, and the fact that a predella is specified confirms its importance. It was a major commission and, furthermore, it was set in a conspicuous location. Historically, the 1302 *Maestà* is a milestone in the career of Duccio, since it was created at a point between his early Rucellai *Madonna* of 1285 and the late Cathedral *Maestà* of 1308–11. In the reconstruction of this 1302 *Maestà* which I offer here, I believe we can see how it represents, and may in fact be considered, the principal statement of Duccio's middle period. In the same way, the narratives in the predella are important. We do not have any early narrative paintings by Duccio himself, so that the scenes in the Cathedral *Maestà* have always seemed to be the typical statement of Duccio's narrative ideas. I believe, though, that several Ducciesque paintings give ample evidence that Duccio had an earlier formula for his narratives; and quite probably it appeared in the predella of the 1302 *Maestà*. Thus, I regard the *Maestà* for the Chapel of the Nove as being in many ways one of Duccio's really pivotal works.

The reign of Duccio's 1302 *Maestà* was, however, short-lived. There must have been a fire or some other accident in the Chapel of the Nove about 1319, for shortly thereafter a new crucifix and a new altarpiece were ordered for the Chapel. In 1321 Simone Martini painted a new cross, replacing one by Masarello di Gilio that had been made eighteen years earlier,[2] and at about the same time he painted a new altarpiece for this same chapel.[3] Clearly it must have been a serious accident to necessitate the replacement of both the original altarpiece and crucifix less than two decades after they had been created. It has been suggested that a document of 1319, which speaks of a damaged painting outside the Sala di Consistoro (upstairs from the Chapel), may refer to what remained of Duccio's altarpiece. The document records the payment made to Duccio's pupil, Segna di Buonaventura, for restoring the picture.

> November 8, 1319
> Likewise: 8 lire to Segna di Buonaventura, painter, for painting that he did in repairing the figure of the Blessed Virgin which is in front of the Consistory. Voucher from the Nove.[4]

If, as it seems, this document does refer to Duccio's altarpiece, it would explain its banishment from the Chapel of the Nove. And would not its damaged state, howsoever repaired, augur its ultimate disappearance?

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There has been little speculation on the makeup of this lost *Maestà* by Duccio, but I believe it is possible to discover the general aspect of the main panel, as well as of the predella below.

A first step was taken some years ago, when Cesare Brandi enumerated some Madonnas that he thought were based on the lost 1302 *Maestà*;[5] his list is a significant contribution, despite the fact that it coincides only partially with the list presented here. I propose that there are seven Madonnas Enthroned sharing so many characteristics as to suggest they are all variants of a well-known composition—a composition we propose to identify with the 1302 *Maestà* and whose principal features are seen in the diagram we include here (Fig. 8). These are the *Madonnas* in the tabernacle center (Fig. 1) at Monte Oliveto, by the painter who derives his name from that panel;[6] the left valve (Fig. 2) of a diptych in the Yale University Art Gallery, also by the Monte Oliveto Master; the *Madonna* (Fig. 3) in the Volterra Collection, Florence,

not previously published, by the Goodhart Master;[7] the *Madonna* (Fig. 4) recently acquired by the Atheneum in Helsinki, not, to my knowledge, previously published, and which I would also attribute to the Goodhart Master;[8] the panel (Fig. 5) formerly in the Reinach Collection, Paris, also, apparently, unpublished, and, again, to be attributed to the Goodhart Master;[9] the altarpiece (Fig. 6) in Città di Castello, by the artist who is named after that panel;[10] and the altarpiece (Fig. 7) in Castiglione Fiorentino signed by Segna di Buonaventura.

Since the many elements which these panels have in common go well beyond the early idiom of Duccio, it would be wise, before discussing our group of seven *Madonnas*, briefly to examine his early work in order to provide ourselves with a context in which to look at the group in which we are interested. The earliest preserved painting we have from the hand of Duccio, the *Madonna of the Three Franciscans* of about 1280 or slightly earlier, shows the ingenuity and exuberance we might expect from the youthful painter. The backless throne is certainly an archaic feature, and the way in which the throne is set at an angle to the picture plane continues the mode of Cimabue and Guido da Siena;[11] the wood-lathed parts of the throne also derive from Cimabue. On the other hand, the four angels holding a cloth, in lieu of a throneback, is an imaginative invention by Duccio. Furthermore, the young artist is seen to be grappling with a number of intriguing spatial problems: the double-tiered footstool—which, like the throne, is placed at an angle and which has two arched openings on its front side—is set into the deep, arched opening on the front of the throne, and if it is not illusionistically convincing, it, too, is undeniably delightful and inventive.

The Rucellai *Madonna*[12] of 1285, another early work by Duccio, reveals a more accomplished handling of the pictorial elements: light, airy and elegant, the throne is again carpentered of wood-lathed parts and set at an angle, and it has a two-tiered, double-arched footstool, also set at an angle, and an elaborate hanging stretched across the back frame. The most significant innovation in the Rucellai *Madonna* is the introduction of adoring, kneeling angels set against the void on either side of the throne—a formula which, however, Duccio abandoned in his later works as he found more convincing ways of placing them.

There is one *Madonna Enthroned* that tells us a good deal about the artist's next evolutionary stage, in the decade of the 1290s. That is the small panel, the left wing of a diptych that has recently been acquired by the National Gallery

in London (Fig. 9) and that is a work by Duccio himself.[13] For the first time in Ducciesque painting the throne is placed frontally, that is, at right angles to the picture plane. It was at about the same time that Cimabue reverted to the frontal view of the throne in his Trinita *Madonna*. Both examples mark the end of the era in which artists depended on the diagonal view of the side of the throne as a means of probing depth and emphasizing the three-dimensionality of objects. Now, Duccio emphasizes the recession of the seat of the throne and the top of the footstool by the geometric inlays, abandoning the earlier throne of lathed wood, while the perspectival corbels under the front edge of the seat also add to the three-dimensionality of the throne. Meanwhile, the footstool, which in Duccio's earlier works had fairly bristled with space-generating diagonals and arched openings, has become a shallow ledge, also seen from the front. It is true that the throne in the London panel does not have a back, but rather a cloth held by angels in the manner of the early *Madonna of the Three Franciscans*. But on the other hand, the throne is now made of marble, and it is decorated with rectangles containing foliate designs imitating carved relief. Undoubtedly Duccio had by this time cast his net wider and this throne type is—as we shall see later on—probably an influence from Rome.

In the London panel an angel stands at either side of the throne. This spatial solution must have seemed more satisfactory to Duccio than the arrangement in the Rucellai *Madonna*, where the kneeling angels have no physical relationship to one another or to the space of the picture; and of course Duccio may have observed how Cimabue enhanced the illusion of space by a similar placing of the angels in his Trinita *Madonna*.

The most revealing elements of the new London *Madonna*, however, are the presence of the white veil, which for the first time in Ducciesque painting softly frames the face of the Virgin, and the gesture of the Child reaching up vigorously to grasp an edge of the veil. This is quite like the way Duccio arranged it in the only other work of the 1290s we can ascribe to his own hand, the Stoclet *Madonna*.[14] The white veil is a revival and adaptation of the veil in Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna* of 1261 in the Servi Church, Siena, with which Duccio must have been very familiar, while the gesture of the Child is an invention of Duccio's at this time. The playful yet poignant intimacy between the Child and the Virgin is anticipated in the *Madonna of the Three Franciscans*, where the Child grasps the Virgin's fingers, but the veil motif allows a fuller expression of such sentiment and, indeed, becomes the most striking element in the picture.

Bearing in mind the various factors we have discovered in these early works by Duccio, we are in an advantageous position to look more closely at the group of seven *Madonnas* with which we began our discussion and to understand how they reflect the next stage of Duccio's development, about 1300.

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Of the seven, we begin with the tabernacle center by the Monte Oliveto Master (Fig. 1). In this painting the Madonna sits on a frontal throne made of marble with dark, rectangular inlays on the sections of the arms. The top of the throneback runs in a gentle curve behind her head; from it hangs a rich fabric. The footstool, also frontal, is a low, flat object. To either side of the throne are three angels placed one above another in echelon. The middle angels cross their hands over their chests; the top two angels hold their hands in gestures of prayer. Finally, we might note that the Child holds in his right hand an end of the white veil that falls from the Virgin's head. The Monte Oliveto Master repeats most of these elements in another painting, the left valve of the diptych in the Yale University Art Gallery (Fig. 2). Here, though, the Child pulls the veil over to his chest in a manner that is more typical of the other representations in our group. While the Monte Oliveto Master demonstrates a good deal of ability, certain awkwardnesses reveal the essentially imitative personality of a follower; and for this reason his *Madonnas* may be reliable guides to the lost prototype by Duccio.

No less than three *Madonnas Enthroned* by the so-called Goodhart Master belong to our group: those in Florence (Fig. 3) and Helsinki (Fig. 4) and that in the Reinach Collection (Fig. 5). This master excels in rendering an intimate charm, but otherwise he, too, is an imitator by nature and so can be helpful to us in understanding Duccio's lost *Madonna* of 1302, which, it is likely, inspired all three of his paintings. The general disposition of the throne and footstool as well as the various surfaces of the throne are similar to those features in the panels by the Monte Oliveto Master. The same may be said about the arrangement of the figures; the substitution of saints for angels or the multiplication of angels in his panels does not significantly alter the basic formula he is following. In several repects we garner from his paintings additional information about the lost original by Duccio: the projecting arms of the throne and the mouldings of clustered leaves at the top, although not essayed by the Monte Oliveto Master, probably reflect the lost prototype; the motif

of the Child holding a bit of the Virgin's veil against his chest is constant in all three panels by the Goodhart Master.

The last two panels which belong to our group are the *Madonna* by the Città di Castello Master (Fig. 6) and that in Castiglione Fiorentino by Segna (Fig. 7). It may be worth noting that both panels are gabled and differ in this respect from the rest of the group. If anything, we are closer to the original when we consider these two works: they are large, independent altarpieces and so give some sense of what must have been the surprisingly tall and narrow proportion of the 1302 *Maestà*, something which is only hinted at in the diminutive diptych wings and tabernacle centers we just studied. Of course, both the Città di Castello Master and Segna were stronger, more individual artists than the Monte Oliveto and Goodhart Masters, but most of the formulae of the lesser painters are maintained in both these panels: we find again the white marble throne with its dark insets and its low footstool and, in the case of the Città di Castello panel, the leaf clusters at the corners of the throneback; in both panels the lateral figures are in echelon and the Child holds the Virgin's veil against his chest.

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As we envisage the 1302 *Maestà* (Fig. 8), then, its tall slender proportions were echoed by the shape of the throne and abetted by the verticals of the lateral angels in echelon. Certainly Duccio had abandoned the broad, loose sort of composition he used for the Rucellai *Madonna*, whose design recalls another work of the 1280s, Guido da Siena's San Domenico altarpiece. Once again we may speculate on the inspiration that Cimabue's Trinita *Madonna*[15] may have afforded Duccio, with the comparable slenderness of its overall shape and its throne, and with the similar verticals created by the angels. The Florentine painting, which I date in the 1290s, is an authoritative statement, and Duccio was very responsive to Cimabue's work.

Since the Christ Child holds the veil quietly against his body in our seven *Madonnas*, I would propose that this was the motif used in Duccio's 1302 *Maestà*. It is quite different from the more energetic gesture of the Child reaching up to grasp the Virgin's veil, which was so popular in Duccio's shop in the previous decade. And not to be overlooked as confirmatory evidence is the fact that the same motif of the Child holding the veil against his chest appears in the same way and at about the same time—the turn of the

Fig. 1. MONTE OLIVETO MASTER
Madonna Enthroned, Monastery
Monte Oliveto

Fig. 2. MONTE OLIVETO MASTER, *Madonna Enthroned*
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

Fig. 3. GOODHART MASTER, *Madonna Enthroned*
Volterra Collection, Florence

Fig. 4. GOODHART MASTER, *Madonna Enthroned*
The Atheneum, Helsinki

Fig. 5. GOODHART MASTER
Madonna Enthroned
Present whereabouts unknown

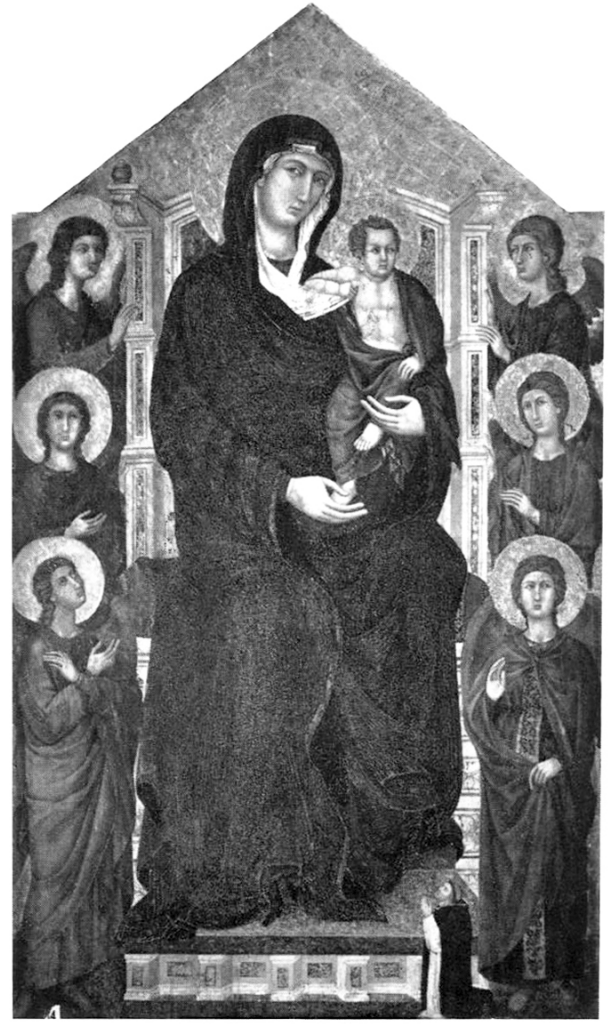

Fig. 6. CITTÀ DI CASTELLO MASTER
Madonna Enthroned, Galleria Comunale
Città di Castello

Fig. 7. SEGNA DI BUONAVENTURA
Madonna Enthroned, Collegiata
Castiglione Fiorentino

Fig. 8. Diagram of Duccio's 1302 *Maestà*

Fig. 9. DUCCIO, *Madonna Enthroned*
National Gallery, London

Fig. 10. JACOPO TORRITI, *Annunciation*
Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

Fig. 11. Contemporary of DUCCIO
Madonna Enthroned, Kunstmuseum, Bern

Fig. 12. Workshop of UGOLINO DA SIENA
Annunciation (Detail of a tabernacle)
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

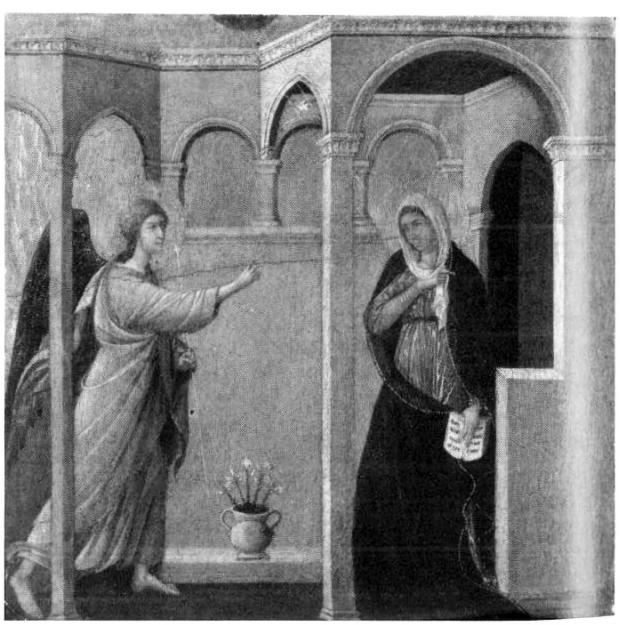

Fig. 13. DUCCIO, *Annunciation*
(Detail of the Cathedral *Maestà*)
National Gallery, London

Fig. 14. Workshop of DUCCIO, *Nativity*
(Detail of a tabernacle)
Pinacoteca, Siena

Fig. 15. DUCCIO, *Nativity*
(Detail of the Cathedral *Maestà*)
National Gallery of Art, Washington

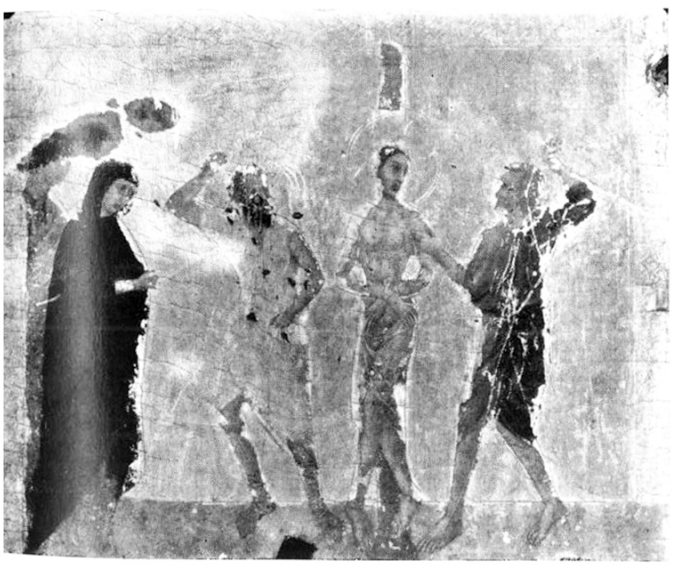

Fig. 16. Workshop of DUCCIO
Flagellation (Detail of a tabernacle)
Pinacoteca, Siena

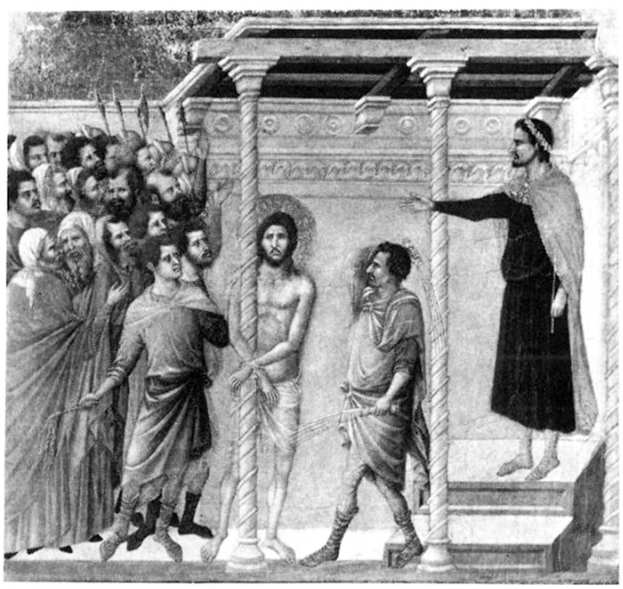

Fig. 17. DUCCIO, *Flagellation*
(Detail of the Cathedral *Maestà*)
Opera del Duomo, Siena

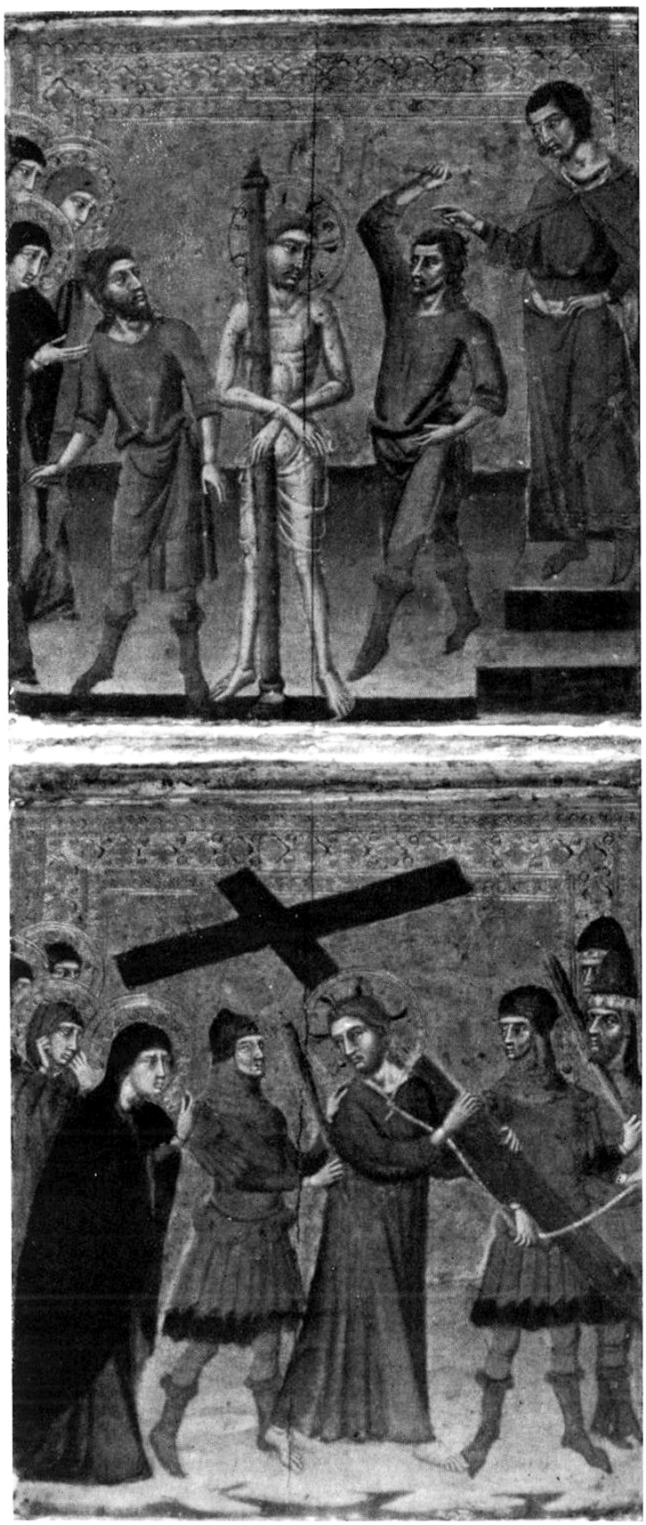

Fig. 18. MONTE OLIVETO MASTER
Flagellation and *Via Crucis*
(Detail of a tabernacle), Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 19. Workshop of DUCCIO, *Via Crucis*
(Detail of a tabernacle), Pinacoteca, Siena

Fig. 20. DUCCIO, *Via Crucis* (Detail of the
Cathedral *Maestà*), Opera del Duomo, Siena

Fig. 21. MONTE OLIVETO MASTER, *Crucifixion*
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

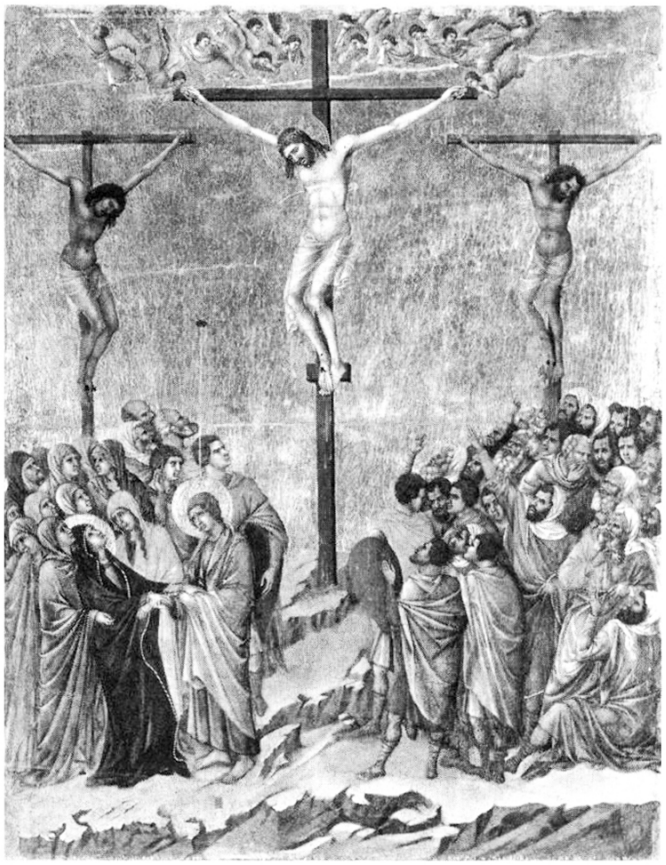

Fig. 22. DUCCIO, *Crucifixion*
(Detail of the Cathedral *Maestà*)
Opera del Duomo, Siena

Fig. 23. Workshop of DUCCIO, *Deposition*
(Detail of a tabernacle), Pinacoteca, Siena

Fig. 24. DUCCIO, *Deposition*
(Detail of the Cathedral *Maestà*)
Opera del Duomo, Siena

Fig. 25. SIMONE MARTINI
Via Crucis, Musée du Louvre, Paris

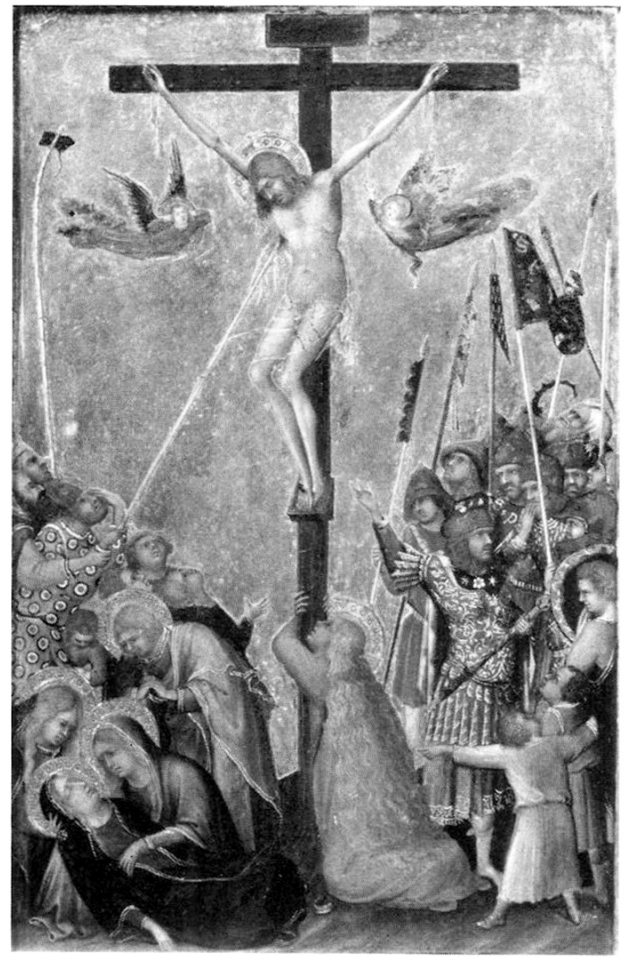

Fig. 26. SIMONE MARTINI, *Crucifixion*
Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp

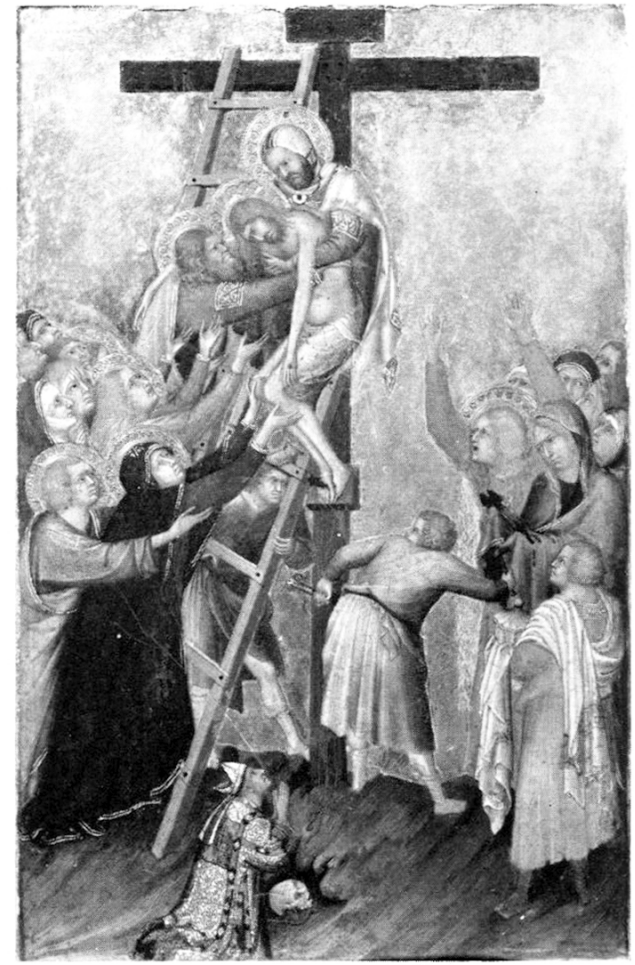

Fig. 27. SIMONE MARTINI, *Deposition*
Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp

century—in a masterpiece from Duccio's own hand, the *Madonna* in Perugia.[16]

In the group of seven *Madonnas* the arrangement of the angels standing behind and slightly above one another is more or less the same from panel to panel, and this was surely the way they were positioned in the 1302 *Maestà*. As has already been indicated, Duccio did not repeat the motif of the kneeling angels in the Rucellai *Madonna* but, rather, developed the idea of standing angels as we saw them in his London *Madonna* and in Cimabue's Trinita *Madonna*. As we will see in a moment, the grouping of the angels will change considerably in the later *Maestà* for the Cathedral.

The type of throne goes beyond what we saw in Duccio's London *Madonna* and, indeed, appears to have little to do with any example in his native Tuscany—his inspiration for this kind of marble throne with rich inlays would seem to have come from a different direction. It is interesting that the marble throne with dark, rectangular inlays achieved such great popularity in Rome at about the time we see it in Ducciesque painting, as a glance at a number of Roman mosaics reveals.[17] By far the most beautiful and, for our purposes, the most significant is the throne before which the Virgin stands in Jacopo Torriti's mosaic of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 10) in the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore, done in the middle of the 1290s. Here is the same strong verticality emphasized by the cosmatesque inlay. In addition, the acanthus moulding along the top edges and at the sides of the throne is seen again in a number of our Ducciesque panels. Thus, even without the support of further evidence (to be adduced below) we should incline to believe that Duccio was familiar with this particular representation of a marble throne.

All these elements of the 1302 *Maestà*—the proportions of the panel, the Child holding the veil, the angels in echelon, and the type of the throne—suggest that this altarpiece reflects a particular moment in Duccio's evolution, distinct from the Cathedral *Maestà* of 1308–11. Duccio's subsequent development of the enthroned Madonna image, as we see it in the Cathedral *Maestà*, bears this out. In harmony with the strongly horizontal orientation of the altarpiece, the throne is broad rather than tall, its sides splayed out considerably. Although the type of marble throne is substantially the same, the effect in the Cathedral *Maestà* is different because of the lavish cosmatesque decoration encrusting most of the surface. The angels are grouped in an inverted V, enhancing the monumental stability of the central area of the picture, disturbing to some extent that tenuous balance between the physical and the

spiritual which must have prevailed in the 1302 *Maestà*. In the Cathedral *Maestà* Duccio abandoned altogether the motif of the Child playing with the Virgin's veil, a motif he had so thoroughly explored in his earlier paintings;[18] the lofty sobriety of the figures, conveyed to us even through their great plastic bulk, would forbid so intimate a gesture.

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Taking all these factors into consideration we may return for a moment to the list of nine *Madonnas* which Brandi associated with the 1302 *Maestà*. To be sure, several of the paintings which Brandi suggested remain on the list: the Segna *Madonna* at Castigilone Fiorentino, the Città di Castello *Madonna*, the *Madonna* from the Yale diptych and the Monte Oliveto *Madonna*.[19] But when we look at the others on his list we are certain that they have much less relevance, and, in fact, a glance at the panels to be eliminated confirms our notion of what the prototype looked like.

For example, the *Madonna* (Fig. 11) in Bern,[20] which may have been executed as late as the first decade of the fourteenth century, is seen in the light of our analysis to be a complicated pastiche of elements of the 1280s and 1290s and not a reliable guide to the lost 1302 *Maestà*. While its angels are placed in echelon and the marble throne with inlays is of the type favored about 1300, still the throne is pitched at a sharp angle to the picture plane, and the shape of the footstool as well as the way it is placed in the cavernous opening of the throne also recall the old manner of the 1280s. The prominent corner pinnacles on the seat of the throne are equally out-of-date, reminiscent of those seen earlier in the *Madonnas* of Guido da Siena. The posture of the Child, who seems to run, recalls the formula based on a Cimabue original of the 1270s,[21] nor does he play with the Virgin's veil since, what is surely an anachronism, the veil is missing.[22] In fact, the most advanced features of the picture—the arrangement of the angels in echelon and the materials of the throne—are no more evolved than what we see in Duccio's *Madonna* of the 1290s in the National Gallery, London.

Likewise, the *Madonna* which is the center of a tabernacle at Christ Church, Oxford,[23] is conservative in almost every regard—for example, in the pose of the Child, which is taken directly from the panels of Guido da Siena; the wood throne, seen diagonally from one side, and the double-arched footstool, also seen from one side, are other early features. The latest elements in this

panel are the angels in echelon and the carved plaques on the front of the throne. Since both these elements are no more developed than Duccio's *Madonna* in the National Gallery, London, I believe that the Oxford *Madonna* is to be dated to the 1290s.

A more problematic *Madonna* on Brandi's list is that in the Cini Collection, Venice,[24] a work of the highest quality by the Badia a Isola Master. While the throne reflects the type used in the 1302 *Maestà*, it is very wide, and the fact that there are only two angels to either side further lessens the verticality that must have prevailed in the 1302 *Maestà*. Most of the other elements in the painting are earlier. The Child reaches up to grasp the veil of the Virgin in the style of the 1290s, and the way he sits bolt upright recalls the usual Guidesque posture for the Child. Even the fall of drapery between the fingers of the Virgin's left hand is an element of Dugento painting. For these reasons I feel that the Cini *Madonna* cannot be used as a guide to the appearance of the 1302 *Maestà* and must be excluded from our group of seven *Madonnas*.[25]

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As has already been pointed out, the document of 1302 also specifies that the *Maestà* for the Chapel of the Nove had a predella. The presence of a predella is in itself about as novel as the fact that one should be mentioned in a document: for the true predella, that is, a separately constructed box or platform on top of which the altarpiece was set, and whose front side might be decorated with painting, does not begin to appear in Italian art until just this time, the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The origins of the predella are far from clear. If any painted predellas existed in thirteenth-century Italian painting none of them has been preserved, although we can point to an embryonic phase in the Dugento. That is to say, there are instances where one or more narratives are painted beneath the main figure, instead of to either side of it as was then customary. For example, the St. Francis panel in the Bardi Chapel of Santa Croce[26] has, besides the usual arrangement of scenes to either side of the figure of the Saint, eight narratives at the bottom. Two narratives are also placed at the bottom of the imposing panel of the Madonna in relief[27] by Coppo di Marcovaldo and his shop, in Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence, and there are four prophets in arched openings at the bottom of Cimabue's Trinita *Madonna*.[28] In all these instances, however, the additional scenes or figures are painted on the same panel and in

the same spatial plane as the principal image of the altarpiece, not on a separate, projecting base; hence they do not really constitute predellas.

There can be little doubt that it was the increasing size and the sheer weight of the new altarpieces that, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, made it necessary to construct a suitable base for their support. While having its origins in structural needs, the predella also served a visual function as well, for it had the effect of elevating the main figure well above the altar surface, increasing its visibility throughout the church and immeasurably adding to the impressiveness of the altarpiece.

The first record of a painted predella is, curiously enough, of that commissioned on November 5, 1301 from Cimabue as part of the altarpiece for the Hospital of Santa Chiara in Pisa.[29] Since the Duccio document of December 1302 is one of payment for a finished work, the two altarpieces were painted at more or less the same time; still, we should not rule out the possibility that Duccio's predella may have owed a good deal to the one by Cimabue.

The first step in the reconstruction of Duccio's 1302 predella is to determine its contents. In both Florentine and Sienese painting the predella conventionally contains a narrative sequence. The Sienese developed a second type, consisting of a row of half-length figures, but in Ducciesque painting this variation seems to have been used principally in small tabernacles.[30] The evidence from the painting of the time and from the works of Duccio's assistants and followers is that the predella would have contained a narrative sequence, probably a series of scenes from the life of Christ.

Before we discuss this possibility, however, it would be well to examine a theory put forward by Brandi. Brandi proposed that the predella of Duccio's *Maestà* for the Chapel of the Nove contained illustrations of the *Articles of the Faith*, or the *Creed*,[31] and this has generally been accepted in the subsequent literature. Representations of this theme are relatively rare in Italian art, and while it is true that a number of prime examples do occur in Sienese painting[32] —more than has previously been suggested—still, I find little reason to believe that this was the subject of the predella of the 1302 *Maestà*.

Brandi based his hypothesis on the fact that in 1321 Segna di Buonaventura was paid for some work on a panel in the Chapel of the Nove, on which was written the *Creed*, and Brandi presumed that this panel was the predella of the 1302 *Maestà*.[33] But this identification seems unlikely, for while, as Brandi points out, the wording of the document suggests that the panel already

existed and that Segna, in effect, was simply called in to alter or restore it, the document also specifies that the Articles of the Faith were written ("scripti"). We cannot be sure, therefore, that this panel was anything more than a plaque containing the words of the *Creed*, perhaps affixed to a wall of the Chapel.

Brandi also proposed that the choir stalls in the Cappella del Popolo, with intarsia scenes of the *Creed* done about a century later by Niccolò di Domenico, might have been inspired by the supposed Duccio predella. But Brandi was wrong in thinking that the choir stalls were made for the same chapel as the panel restored by Segna; he has confused the two chapels of the Palazzo Pubblico. The original chapel, the Cappella del Nove, where Duccio's altarpiece and the panel containing the *Creed* had been, was on the ground floor of the Palazzo Pubblico; during the fifteenth century it was converted into civic offices.[34] The chapel for which Niccolò di Domenico made his choir stalls, the Cappella del Popolo, was a new chapel created in the fifteenth century on the second floor. But even if Niccolò di Domenico had known some hypothetical, earlier series of illustrations of the *Creed* by either Duccio or Segna, it must be acknowledged that his intarsia scenes differ enormously from Ducciesque painting in every point of style and composition. Nothing, therefore, remains to support the thesis that the predella of the 1302 *Maestà* contained the *Creed*.

Returning, then, to our proposal that the predella of the 1302 *Maestà* bore a series of narratives, it is, at first glance, difficult to answer the question of what Ducciesque narrative painting may have looked like before the Cathedral *Maestà* of 1308–11—most Ducciesque narratives date later than the *Maestà* itself and borrow a good deal from it. Nevertheless, a closer examination of a number of narrative scenes reveals significant divergences from the Cathedral altarpiece, so that we are bound to believe there existed another narrative series by Duccio, painted at an earlier time, which provided a source of inspiration for Ducciesque assistants and followers for a long period, even at a date later than the Cathedral *Maestà*.

To begin with, just from the point of view of the composition of scenes, we observe that a number of Ducciesque narratives have little spatial definition or architectural setting—in sharp contrast to the conspicuous and inventive architectural settings of the Cathedral *Maestà*, which are one of that work's most distinguishing features. (This is not entirely surprising, for shortly before Duccio had begun the painting of the Cathedral altarpiece Giotto had created his famous frescoes in the Arena Chapel, and we may speculate that Duccio knew and was interested in Giotto's achievement of containing figures within

an architectural setting.) From what we can see, earlier Ducciesque narrative, including the lost scenes of the 1302 *Maestà* predella, seems not to have had the sort of setting that developed later; rather, groups of figures were set against a gold ground more devoid of architecture and landscape than even Guido da Siena's scenes of a generation before.

In this light we should look at the much ruined tabernacle of about 1290 in the Fogg Art Museum,[35] by the painter of the Oxford tabernacle mentioned earlier, an artist who was contemporary with and much influenced by Duccio but who nonetheless seems to be somewhat older in his orientation. This tabernacle has the same sort of featureless surroundings and lack of architecture which, as we shall see, exist in other narratives reflecting the earlier style of Duccio, especially a little tabernacle, No. 35 in the Siena Pinacoteca, which is a product of Duccio's shop.[36]

The representation of the Annunciation epitomizes the differences between the early Ducciesque idiom and that of the Cathedral *Maestà*. In a number of Ducciesque examples of this theme—such as on the spandrels of the No. 35 tabernacle and the upper left scene on the tabernacle (Fig. 12) in the Metropolitan Museum, formerly in the Blumenthal Collection—we find none of the spatial elaborations of walls and arched openings which characterize the scene on the Cathedral *Maestà* (Fig. 13). Instead, the angel stands against a gold ground while the Virgin is placed in front of a tall throne. This type of representation has a definite *terminus post quem*, since it was exactly this composition which was introduced by Jacopo Torriti in his mosaic of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 10) of the 1290s, in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.[37] It is significant that the type of throne which is used in these Ducciesque *Annunciations*—a high, narrow structure, made of marble and having dark, rectangular insets—is the same as the kind I believe was also used in the main panel of the 1302 *Maestà*.[38]

There appears to be an early Ducciesque type of Nativity as well. In the Siena No. 35 tabernacle (Fig. 14) the Virgin and Child are placed before the opening of a cave—a traditional Byzantine motif—and the manger in which the Child lies is a simple, box-like shape resting on the ground. This type of representation continues the old Italian formula used, for example, in works by Guido da Siena and his school as well as the Cimabuesque fresco in the upper church at Assisi.[39] In the scene on the Cathedral *Maestà* (Fig. 15), however, the setting differs in two significant ways: the introduction of a roofed shed and the use of a manger raised off the ground by legs. Both these features

of Duccio's later scheme were no doubt inspired by Giotto's fresco of the *Nativity* in the Arena Chapel. Their absence from the No. 35 tabernacle suggests that there was an earlier formula—one which in all likelihood would have been used in the 1302 predella.

In a similar way, a number of Ducciesque narratives of the passion of Christ follow iconographic formulas that differ sharply and in significant respects from those of the Cathedral *Maestà*, and they, too, suggest that there was another, earlier cycle by Duccio. They contain many Western motifs and reflect as well the new and intense emotionalism associated with the late Dugento and early Trecento in Italian art, all in contrast to the Byzantine motifs and the Byzantine sense of tender sorrow and pathos so often noticed in the later Cathedral *Maestà*.

The early Ducciesque formula for the Flagellation of Christ is suggested to us by its representation on the No. 35 tabernacle (Fig. 16). The two flagellants are in violent action and are dynamically posed, one figure seen from the front, the other from behind—like reversed images of one another, a device of which Italian artists were so fond. In contrast, the poses of the flagellants in the scene on the Cathedral *Maestà* (Fig. 17) are curiously restrained, although this may be due in part to the fact that they are hemmed in by the tightly structured architecture and the immense throng of onlookers at the left. It seems significant that the postures seen in the No. 35 tabernacle are also to be found on the earlier Fogg tabernacle mentioned above, since, after all, its execution about 1290 shows that it was this type of scene which had currency in Siena at the end of the Dugento, when Duccio's predella was conceived. Its continued popularity is demonstrated by the fact that we find it again, much later, in the predella scene by Ugolino on his Santa Croce altarpiece.[40]

Furthermore, in the *Flagellation* on the No. 35 tabernacle, as well as on the tabernacle (Fig. 18) by the Monte Oliveto Master in the Metropolitan Museum, the Virgin is present as witness to the suffering of Christ, standing at the left of the picture. This extraordinary inclusion of the Virgin does not, of course, recur in the Cathedral *Maestà* nor, for that matter, in other fourteenth-century painting with the exception of a panel by the Master of Forlì—a painter who so often exhibits Sienese influence in his work.[41] The Virgin's presence in two tabernacles which derive at least part, if not most, of their elements from a source other than the *Maestà* done for the Cathedral adds weight to the theory that another, earlier cycle by Duccio did in fact exist.

If anything, representations of the Via Crucis in Ducciesque painting afford

us an even clearer understanding of the difference between the Cathedral *Maestà* and an earlier formula. The No. 35 tabernacle (Fig. 19) may be taken once again as an exemplar of the early type. We see that there Christ carries the cross himself, while the man at the head of the procession pulls him forward by a rope tied around Christ's neck. The West preferred this formula for the Via Crucis in the Dugento and, indeed, from a much earlier time.[42] On the other hand, Duccio reverted to a very different tradition—an old, Byzantine one[43]—when depicting the *Via Crucis* on the Cathedral *Maestà* (Fig. 20): Christ's hands are tied in front of him and the cross is carried by Simon of Cyrene. This was such an outmoded formula—although consistent with the very traditional and Eastern aspects of the Cathedral *Maestà*—that we have to go back to certain painted crosses of a century earlier to find other examples of it,[44] and, as Sandberg-Vavalà has pointed out, the last time we find this older iconography in Italian art is in this second *Maestà* by Duccio.[45]

If we look once again at the scene of the Via Crucis on the tabernacle No. 35 we find another slight but interesting difference from the Cathedral *Maestà*: the man behind Christ raises his arm to strike a blow at Christ, whereas in the scene on the Cathedral altarpiece the same figure gently urges him onward, creating a pathos that is very Byzantine. All the elements in the version of the Via Crucis in the No. 35 tabernacle were familiar in Italian painting, and it is likely that the scene on the 1302 *Maestà* was rendered in that fashion. Certainly this formula existed in Ducciesque circles, and with surprising frequency this is the way it was represented in most Ducciesque painting even after the Cathedral altarpiece, as in the scene on the Metropolitan tabernacle (Fig. 18), the tabernacle center in the Lee Collection, London,[46] or on Ugolino's polyptych for Santa Croce.[47]

In quite the same way, we find differences between a number of Ducciesque representations of the Crucifixion and that on the Cathedral *Maestà*. For example, in the diptych (Fig. 21) in the Yale University Art Gallery—the other wing of which, significantly, contains one of our seven *Madonnas* (Fig. 2) thought to derive from Duccio's 1302 *Maestà*,—the Virgin is represented in a very dramatic way with emphasis on the physical expression of grief: her head fallen and averted, her arms slack at her sides, her body slumping. There are some prestigious sources for this posture of the Virgin; we need mention only the Pulpits in the Cathedrals of Siena and Pisa, the mosaic in the Florence Baptistry, and the Crucifixion fresco in the right transept of the upper church in Assisi.[48] This emotional scheme involving

visible, physical gestures, is clearly characteristic of Western art and just the sort of thing Italian artists were emphasizing in the latter part of the Dugento. The Cathedral *Maestà* scene belongs to a different order of things altogether; there (Fig. 22), Duccio devised an eloquent posture for the sorrowing Virgin in which her body sways slightly backward as she gazes up at her Son and extends her arms, laying her hands on the arm of St. John. This posture, which is one of great tenderness and pathos, can be related to the older Byzantine formula in which the Virgin lifts up her face to gaze at the Redeemer, as she does, for example, at Daphni.

One other detail in the two formulas for the Crucifixion is interesting. In the scene for the Cathedral *Maestà*, several snowy-bearded and turbaned Pharisees stand at the right of the cross, but in a number of other Ducciesque representations the emphasis is on a cluster of soldiers wearing leather armor and pointed helmets, holding lances and generally having a more contemporary look. Almost always we see near the right border an unfurled banner.[49] All these details are to be seen not only in the Yale diptych but also in the diptych wing by the Monte Oliveto Master in the Cincinnati Art Museum[50] and in the *Crucifixion* in the collection of Lord Crawford.[51] Thus we find ample evidence that an earlier formula for the Crucifixion existed in Ducciesque painting.

When we analyze the Deposition from the Cross in Ducciesque painting we once again find two distinct modes of representing the scene. In the No. 35 tabernacle (Fig. 23) the Virgin throws up her arms in an excess of grief, breaching the physical distance between herself and Christ as she holds his head in her hands. This dramatic, almost frenzied gesture is typical of the new, expressive Italian imagery and is in marked contrast to the tender pathos with which the Virgin kisses the cheek of Christ in the Cathedral *Maestà* (Fig. 24), the latter recalling, it would seem, the older Byzantine formula in which the Virgin mournfully presses the hand of the dead Christ against her cheek.[52]

Moreover, additional compositional motifs allow us to distinguish the formula used in the No. 35 tabernacle and several other representations from that seen on the Cathedral altarpiece. For example, Joseph of Arimathea takes a very particular posture: his body is directly behind and parallel to Christ's and he does not support himself on the crossbar; while Nicodemus, kneeling to remove the nail from the feet, is placed on the left, not the right, side of the composition. Thus, as with the other scenes we have considered, there are two distinct formulas in Ducciesque painting for the Deposition from the Cross.

The same can be said, perhaps, for the last scene we propose for the predella of the 1302 *Maestà*, the Entombment, although representations of that episode offer us relatively few features that clearly distinguish early from late types. Possibly, though, it is relevant to note that the sarcophagus in the scene on the No. 35 tabernacle has undecorated sides and shows the receding side at the feet of Christ; whereas in the depiction on the Cathedral *Maestà* and several examples which follow that work the sides are decorated with mouldings marking off a series of rectangular sections, and it is the side of the sarcophagus at Christ's head which recedes.

All these comparisons, both in the composition of various scenes and in details of iconography, confirm our belief that Duccio created a series of narrative scenes prior to those of the Cathedral altarpiece. These early narratives, simpler in composition and more vivid and emotional in iconography, would seem to have made their appearance in the predella of Duccio's *Maestà* of 1302. Set beneath the imposing image of the enthroned Madonna these little scenes would have elaborated the role of the Virgin in the life of her Son. In the first two, the Annunciation and the Nativity, the Virgin appears as a participant, while in the succeeding five episodes—the Flagellation, the Via Crucis, the Crucifixion, the Deposition and the Entombment—she is a witness to the sufferings and passion of Christ.

Our notion of the development of an artist is all too often based only on the works which have survived. This is as true of Duccio as of any other artist. But the study of the 1302 *Maestà* for the Chapel of the Nove throws a new light on an important moment in Duccio's art. It was a moment when the representation of the enthroned Madonna took a decisive step towards the formula preferred by the fourteenth century. It was, as well, a pivotal point in the development of the predella, foreshadowing its frequent use in fourteenth-century altarpieces. At the same time, Duccio in 1302 gave expression to the most progressive ideas, freed of old Byzantinisms that were to recur in the later *Maestà*, in the iconography and the emotional climate of his narratives; for, above all, it was a moment when Duccio was turning away from the modes of Cimabue and Guido da Siena and the Dugento.

EPILOGUE

One of the remarkable factors about the 1302 *Maestà* and its predella, as we have suggested, is the great influence they exerted on Duccio's assistants and

followers. That influence also extended beyond Duccio's ambient. It will be recalled that Simone Martini painted a new Madonna for the Chapel of the Nove about 1321; we can only speculate on whether his own Madonna was inspired by the earlier one by Duccio. What is certain, however, is that in four small narratives by Simone, also of about 1320, we have a surprisingly clear echo of Duccio's 1302 predella. These panels, presently distributed among Antwerp, Paris and Berlin, are, when considered together, known as the Antwerp polyptych.[53] The resemblances are readily apparent.

In the *Via Crucis* (Fig. 25), it is Christ who carries the cross while the malevolent person to the right tugs on the rope tied around his neck, as in the earlier of the Ducciesque versions. To the left, a soldier twists around to strike a blow, not at Christ, but at the Virgin. All this is far from the comparatively restrained Byzantine pathos of Duccio's late *Maestà*. In the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 26) the Virgin falls to the ground in a swoon, and while this kind of drama does not obtain in Ducciesque painting, basically it is related more closely to the tragically slumped, half-swooning Virgin in the earlier Ducciesque mode than it is to the pose in the Cathedral *Maestà*. Furthermore, on the right of Simone's *Crucifixion* is the huddle of soldiers wearing the familiar peaked helmets, and, above their heads, the ominous lances and the fluttering banner. Simone's *Deposition* (Fig. 27) shows the Virgin thrusting up her arms, reaching with a kind of desperation to touch the knee of her dead Son. It is interesting to note that Joseph of Arimathea holds Christ from directly behind, his body quite parallel to that of Christ in a posture we recall from the No. 35 tabernacle.

It is true that Simone's narratives are filled with piteous cries of anguish and an emotionalism pitched far beyond anything we find in Ducciesque painting; nevertheless, these little pictures suggest that Simone was making a sort of critique of the 1302 predella, and in so doing he left us valuable clues to Duccio's masterpiece.[54]

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[1] K. F. L. F. von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, Berlin-Stettin, II, 1827, pp. 11–12. The document is also given in P. Bacci, *Fonti e commenti per la storia dell'arte senese . . .*, Siena, 1944, p. 4.

[2] For the document on the 1306 Cross, see Bacci, *op. cit.*, p. 34; for the 1321 Cross, see G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1854, I, p. 217.

[3] Padre Della Valle, *Lettere senesi*, Venice, II, 1785, p. 88 and n. 2.

[4] The connection was first suggested by C. Brandi (*Duccio*, Florence, 1951, pp. 82–83), who also believed that the Duccio panel must have been damaged by 1306, causing it to be replaced by the Masarello Cross commissioned in that year. But surely the Crucifix was intended as an additional embellishment of the Chapel, to be hung well above the altarpiece; in any case we cannot believe that the Duccio *Maestà* would

have gone unrepaired from 1306 until 1319. The 1319 document is in the Archivio di Stato, Siena, Biccherna book no. 138, fol. 119v (Bacci, *Fonti e commenti*, p. 40 [as fol. 158v according to an older pagination]). Another document of November 8, 1319, the very same date, repeats this phrasing but in Latin (Biccherna book no. 139, fol. 125 [as fol. 124 in Bacci, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41]).

[5] Brandi, *Duccio*, p. 141. These *Madonnas* will be discussed below.

[6] For this master, see G. Coor, "A New Attribution to the Monte Oliveto Master and Some Observations Concerning the Chronology of his Work," *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, pp. 203–207.

[7] For a brief résumé of this master, see Coor, "Contributions to the Study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art," *The Art Bulletin*, XXXVII, 1955, p. 164.

[8] The panel, No. 3039, measures 40 by 29 cm. It was purchased in 1963 from Mrs. A. Runeberg, whose husband had acquired it in Italy (information kindly furnished by Dr. Aune Lindström, director of the Atheneum).

[9] The painting is known only through a photograph in the Fototeca Berenson bearing the notation "seen at Reinach, Paris, 1927."

[10] For the oeuvre of this master, see Brandi, *Duccio*, pp. 148–150, and L. Vertova, "What Goes with What?" *Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, pp. 668–672.

[11] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 22. Some critics place this panel later in Duccio's oeuvre, but this is to ignore the influence of Coppo di Marcovaldo on the style of the Virgin's face, to mention only one factor. For a discussion of this work, see J. Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth-Century Italian Panel Painting," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX, 1966, pp. 97–99. For a discussion of the throne styles, see Stubblebine, "The Development of the Throne in Dugento Tuscan Painting," *Marsyas*, VII, 1957, pp. 25–39.

[12] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 8.

[13] M. Davies, "Duccio: an Acquisition," *Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp. 4, 7.

[14] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 24. There are several other instances in Ducciesque painting in which the Child stretches his arm upwards to grasp the veil at a point near the Virgin's brow: the *Madonna* in the Cini Collection, Venice (*ibid.*, fig. 114), the *Madonna* formerly in the Schnitzler Collection, Cologne (Sale, Cologne, May 19, 1962, Lempertz, No. 56, pl. 31), and the Crevole *Madonna* (Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 6) in the Opera del Duomo, Siena, where, however, the Child has to grasp the dark mantle, since the white veil is not present in this conservative work.

[15] H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienische Altarbildes . . .*, Munich, 1962, fig. 207.

[16] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 27. Late examples of the Child pulling the veil towards his chest illustrate the longevity of this motif: the *Madonna* once in the Luigi Pisa Collection (R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, II, 1924, fig. 103), the *Madonna* in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (H. Thyssen-Bornemisza, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, Villa Favorita*, Castagnola-Lugano, 1958, No. 386a, p. 97, not illustrated), and the *Madonna* in the Art Institute, Chicago (Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 119). It is curious that in the polyptych, No. 28 in the Siena Pinacoteca (*ibid.*, fig. 29), the Child holds an edge of the Virgin's dark mantle instead of her veil.

[17] As, for example, those in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, San Crisogono and Santa Maria Maggiore.

[18] In the polyptych, No. 47 in the Siena Pinacoteca (Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 108), the Virgin's hand is placed against Christ's chest and his, in turn, rests on hers. In the *Madonna* in Massa Marittima (illustrated in E. Carli, *Arte senese nella Maremma grossetana*, Grosseto, 1964, figs. 5, 6) the Child touches the fold of the Virgin's robe, which she holds out to him.

[19] More closely related is the late variant in Utrecht (Groningen. Museum voor Stad en Land, *Sienese Paintings in Holland*, 1969, fig. 4).

[20] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 21. This panel is the left wing of a diptych. Often presented as a work by Duccio himself, the painting reveals a very different artistic personality.

[21] J. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, Princeton, 1964, pp. 6–7, figs. 96–99.

[22] The Child thrusts his arm around the neck of the Virgin and presses his cheek to hers. This traditional glykaphilousa arrangement, which is rare in Ducciesque painting, occurs without any particular pattern of incidence in the various schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see D. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the XIV Century*, New York, 1954, pp. 38–48). The interesting point is that at this time Duccio and those who followed him more closely than the painter of the Bern panel were finding new ways to suggest the affection between the Madonna and Child, as we see in the motif of the Child playing with his mother's veil. For a discussion of such affectionate gestures, see the same author, pp. 116ff.

[23] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 20.
[24] *Ibid.*, fig. 114.
[25] Two other *Madonnas* on Brandi's list are more distant echoes of the 1302 *Maestà* type: the fragment of a *Madonna Enthroned* in the National Gallery, London, No. 565 (*ibid.*, fig. 123), and the *Madonna* from a tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum (Metropolitan Museum *Bulletin*, XIV, 1919, illus. p. 1).
[26] Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 180.
[27] *Ibid.*, fig. 138.
[28] *Ibid.*, fig. 262.
[29] H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienische Altarbildes . . .*, pp. 113, 192 n. 94 and fig. 164. Hager misconstrues the wording of the document ("tabulam unam colonnellis tabernaculis et predula pictam storiis divine maestatis beate Marie Virginis apostolorum angelorum et aliis figuris et picturis . . ."), believing that it was the predella which had scenes from the life of the Virgin. But as Mr. Arno Preiser has very kindly pointed out to me, the word "pictam" refers back to "tabulam," not to "predula," so it was the main panel which had scenes from the life of the Virgin, not the predella. The subject matter of the predella is not known, but while it is possible that it was composed of half-length figures, it is much more likely that Cimabue would have painted narratives there. Hager's reconstruction also errs, incidentally, in placing a large cross atop the altarpiece; the document specifies that the cross was to be on the tabernacle containing the Host, which, we must conclude, would have been level with the bottom of the altarpiece. E. Battisti (*Cimabue*, University Park [Pennsylvania], 1967, p. 110) is of the opinion that the altarpiece was never executed, since it is never subsequently cited.
[30] See the predellas with half-length figures on the tabernacle in the Siena Pinacoteca (Brandi, *Duccio*, figs. 110–111), the tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum referred to above in note 25, and the tabernacle center from the Reinach Collection (Fig. 5). The predella with figures in the Lucca gallery (van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 156), by Ugolino, measures almost seven feet across and obviously belonged to a much larger work, as did the predella by Ugolino, also a fragment, at Besançon (Paris. Orangerie, *De Giotto à Bellini*, ed. M. Laclotte, 1956, no. 34, pl. XIV.).
[31] Brandi, *Duccio*, pp. 83, 141. The illustrative material used for the *Creed* varies from series to series, as well as according to time and place. In a number of early fourteenth-century manuscripts the apostles gather round an open book, in which is written the first phrase of the *Creed*, "credo in deum" (for example, a *Somme le roi* dated 1295, ms. 870, fol. 5^{v}., Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, illustrated in H. Martin, *Trésors des bibliothèques de France*, 1926, I, p. 49, fig. II). Later series generally include such scenes from the life of Christ as the Annunciation, the Flagellation before Pilate and the Crucifixion, as well as such abstract, theological representations as God in a mandorla surrounded by various symbols. Generally, each illustration is accompanied by a part of the text of the *Creed*. See the comments in G. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, 1958, I, pp. 88–89.
[32] The earliest one we know of is that by Ambrogio Lorenzetti for the vaults of the Chapter House of Sant' Agostino, Siena, done in the 1330s and which, although lost to us, was described by Vasari (Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89; G. Vasari, *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* [Florence, 1568], ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, I, p. 522). Around 1409–12 Niccolò di Naldo decorated a cupboard for a chapel in the Siena Cathedral with another series of illustrations of the *Creed*, of which nine panels survive in the Opera del Duomo (E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *Sienese Studies, the Development of the School of Siena*, Florence, 1953, pp. 223–224; B. Berenson, *Central and Northern Italian Schools*, I, New York, 1968, p. 299). Starting in about 1415 Niccolò di Domenico created his intarsia illustrations of the *Creed* for the backs of the choir stalls in the new Cappella del Popolo, a work which was held in such esteem that the artist earned the name "dei Cori" (a number are illustrated in E. Carli, *Scultura lignea senese*, Milan-Florence, 1951, figs. 48–53. C. Eisler has discussed the possibility of a northern influence on dei Cori ["The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy, Part I," *The Art Bulletin*, LI, 1969, p. 115 and nn. 59–60. See also M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, New York-London, 1967, I, p. 45]). Around the middle of the fifteenth century Vecchietta and his shop decorated three of the vaults of the Siena Baptistery with a series of twelve illustrations of the *Creed* (Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 89, figs. 131–133).
[33] Brandi, *Duccio*, p. 83. The document referring to Segna's work on a panel containing the *Creed* is published in Bacci, *Fonti e commenti*, p. 41. The manuscript is in the Archivio di Stato, Siena, Biccherna book no. 143, fol. 53^{v} (as fol. 38^{v} in Bacci). It should be pointed out that when Duccio's *Maestà* had been moved to another location two years earlier, the predella in all likelihood accompanied the main panel.

[34] For the early history of the Palazzo Pubblico, see F. Donati, "Il palazzo del comune di Siena," in A. Canestrelli and others, *Arte antica Siena*, Siena, 1904, pp. 331–332; A. Cairola and E. Carli, *Il palazzo pubblico di Siena*, Rome, 1963, pp. 72, 102.

[35] Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 13.

[36] *Ibid.*, figs. 110, 111.

[37] We see this composition as a development out of the formula of the latter part of the thirteenth century, in which the Virgin stood in front of a niche or door into which was set a low, backless throne, as in the mosaic of the Florence Baptistery (A. de Witt, *I mosaici del Battistero di Firenze*, Florence, 1955, II, pl. 1), the fresco in the nave of the upper church at Assisi (P. Toesca, *Gli affreschi del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento nella chiesa superiore del santuario di Assisi*, Florence, 1948, III, fig. 219), and the mosaic by Cavallini in Santa Maria in Trastevere (J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250 to 1400*, Baltimore, 1966, fig. 40b), as well as in an altarpiece by the Magdalen Master (G. Sinibaldi and G. Brunetti, *Pittura italiana del duecento e trecento. Catalogo della mostra giottesca di Firenze del 1937*, Florence, 1943, fig. 66b). Such niches, doors and fragments of architecture may refer to the basilica that had been built over the site of the house of the Virgin (G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile . . .*, Paris, 1904, pp. 88ff.). In the *Annunciation* on the panel by Coppo di Marcovaldo and his shop in Santa Maria Maggiore, Florence, the Virgin and her throne are placed in front of such a building (*Mostra giottesca*, fig. 61b).

[38] In the *Annunciate Virgin* once in the Helbig Collection, Rome (B. Berenson, *Homeless Paintings of the Renaissance*, London, 1969, fig. 9) a modified version of this composition is to be seen, as is true also of the *Annunciation* on the tabernacle center in the Lee Collection, London (van Marle, *Diana*, VI, 1931, p. 58, fig. 2). Other Ducciesque representations of this scene either revert to Dugento compositions or borrow later ones, but in no case do any of them reflect the complex solution used on the Cathedral *Maestà*.

[39] J. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, fig. 20; van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 269.

[40] Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, II, fig. 62. Duccio did not rely on a Byzantine source for the *Flagellation* on the Cathedral *Maestà*, since this is essentially a Western theme, occurrences in Byzantine art being extremely rare. One such example is that in the ms. grec 74 in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, of the eleventh century, a work which has several patently Western elements in it (Paris. Bibliothèque nationale, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, ed. H. Omont, Paris, n.d. (1908), II, pl. 176; and see note 43 below). The very damaged fresco at Nereditsi near Novgorod is generally considered to be a Flagellation (Leningrad. Gosudarstvennji russkiu muzei, *The Byzantine Frescoes at Spas Nereditsi* [in Russian], Leningrad, 1925, pl. 59; see also Millet, *Recherches*, pp. 652, 685). It is, however, not a Flagellation but a Mocking of Christ comparable to what we see in the mosaic in San Marco, Venice (E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della passione*, Verona, 1929, fig. 206). On a lesser point, it should be noted that on the tabernacle No. 35 Christ is placed in front of the column, whereas he is behind it in the Cathedral *Maestà* scene. Both positions occur without any clear pattern in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century painting of the various Italian schools.

[41] E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting, an Illustrated Index*, Florence, 1949, No. 692. To find another example of the Virgin in the Flagellation we have to look at a Venetian panel of the early fifteenth century, one not related to our Ducciesque examples (Il museo Correr di Venezia, *Dipinti dal XIV al XVI secolo*, Venice, 1959, No. 382, fig. on p. 173). For other examples where the Virgin is only marginally related to the Flagellation, see *ibid.*, No. 430, fig. on p. 166; M. Meiss, "The Case of the Frick Flagellation," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIX–XX, 1955–57, figs. 14–15; and M. Shapiro, "On an Italian Painting of the Flagellation of Christ," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Lionello Venturi*, Rome, I, 1961, fig. 5.

[42] A few of the Dugento examples are the Lucchese diptych in the Uffizi (van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 171), the Cross in the Uffizi, formerly No. 434 in the Accademia (*ibid.*, fig. 186), and the tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum by the Magdalen Master (*ibid.*, fig. 191). See also the early eleventh-century fresco in Sant'Urbano alla Caffarello, Rome (G. Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorisches Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s., V, 1931, fig. 77).

[43] See, for example, the Byzantine formula in the manuscript in the Laurentian Library, Florence, Plut. VI. 23 (Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 389). A very exceptional Byzantine representation in which Christ is carrying the cross is in ms. grec 74 in the Bibliothèque nationale (Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines*, II, pl. 178); this is not the only motif in this manuscript which suggests a Western influence.

[44] The Cross at Sarzana (Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta*, fig. 381), the Florentine Cross in the Uffizi, which was No. 432 in the Accademia (*ibid.*, pl. 1), the mosaic in San Marco, Venice (*ibid.*, fig. 206).

[45] Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta*, p. 272.

[46] Van Marle, *Diana*, VI, 1931, p. 58, fig. 2. The other scene in this panel, the *Mounting of the Cross*, is almost a verbatim copy of Guido's narrative, now in Utrecht (Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, fig. 26), which suggests that the painting should not be dated much later than the middle of the first decade of the fourteenth century. The striations on several of the robes, as well as the stamped tooling in this panel, are later additions.

[47] Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, II, fig. 64. See also the tabernacle in Pienza of the later fourteenth century, which is largely based on the Cathedral *Maestà* (discussed and illustrated in the following: E. Carli, *Pienza, la città di Pio II*, Rome, 1966, pp. 54, 59 n. 13, figs. 13–15, and M. Meiss, "Italian Primitives at Konopiště," *The Art Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1945, pp. 11–12, figs. 19–21).

[48] The Siena Cathedral and Pisa Baptistery Pulpits are illustrated in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, Turin, IV, 1906, figs. 2 and 3; the mosaic of the Florence Baptistery in A. de Witt, *I mosaici del Battistero*, II, pl. 13; the Assisi fresco in A. Nicholson, *Cimabue*, Princeton, 1932, figs. 28, 29. A still earlier example of this posture is to be seen in the Lucchese diptych in the Uffizi (van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 171).

[49] The emphasis on the soldiers in the Crucifixion is also patently a Western notion, and one which develops considerably as the fourteenth century goes on. It is hard to find an example, though, which antedates those reflecting the earlier Ducciesque scheme.

[50] Illustrated by Coor in *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, p. 206, fig. 32.

[51] Van Marle, *Italian Schools*, II, fig. 94.

[52] This older Byzantine formula, in which the Virgin holds the hand of Christ, is found in the eleventh-century manuscript Laur. Plut. VI. 23 and the thirteenth-century manuscript at Mount Athos, Iviron 5 (Millet, *Recherches*, figs. 494, 498). This older formula had come into Italian art under Byzantine influence: among numerous examples are the Cross at Sarzana (Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta*, fig. 244) and the Lucchese diptych in the Uffizi (van Marle, *Italian Schools*, I, fig. 171). The cheek-to-cheek pose of the Virgin and the dead Christ, as in the Cathedral *Maestà*, can also be found in Byzantine art, although it appears to be restricted to a number of Serbian frescoes: that at Nerezi dated 1164 (Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, Paris, 1954–62, I, pl. 19, fig. 8); the same composition at Milesevo (*ibid.*, I, pl. 65), done in the 1230s; that of 1318 at Staro Nagoricino (*ibid.*, III, pl. 93). There are, of course, earlier examples of the cheek-to-cheek arrangement in Italian art. From the previous generation we find it in Guido (Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, fig. 29); from the middle of the century there is an example in a polyptych by the St. Francis Master (Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 514); early in the thirteenth century it is found in the Cross, No. 20 in the Pisa gallery (Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta*, fig. 437) and the fresco in the crypt at Aquileia (Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 513).

[53] G. Paccagnini, *Simone Martini*, Milan, 1955, pp. 110–21, color plates. Most critics place the Antwerp polyptych by Simone in his late period, assigning it to the years when he was in Avignon in the early 1340s: E. Carli, *Sienese Painting*, Greenwich (Conn.), 1966, p. 33; J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250–1400*, p. 241. It was dated earlier, however, by A. Gosche (*Simone Martini*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 85). See also Paccagnini in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, New York, IX, 1964, p. 507. The kneeling figure in the *Deposition* is probably Cardinal Napoleone Orsini (the Orsini arms are on the reverse of the *Via Crucis*); it has sometimes been argued that the panels belong to Simone's Avignon period because Orsini was also there at the time, but the prominent Orsini was widely travelled and probably knew Simone at an earlier date. I must agree, however, with Paccagnini that the Antwerp polyptych dates to around 1320: his comparison of the style to that of the predella figures of Simone's Pisa polyptych of 1319 is convincing. We might also consider the *Annunciate Virgin* in Antwerp, comparing her nervous, twisting gold hemlines to those of the 1317 *St. Louis* in Naples. The resemblances are closer than they are to the 1341 *Holy Family* Simone painted in Avignon, now in Liverpool (van Marle, *Italian Schools*, II, fig. 160), which betrays to some extent the more tranquil mood and newly felt plasticity that one suspects marked Simone's late style.

[54] It is quite remarkable how often Simone Martini worked in the various parts of the Palazzo Pubblico during his career. Not only did he paint the *Maestà* in the Sala del Mappamondo in 1315, but the documents tell us he restored it in 1321–22. He had a commission for a crucifix for above the altar in the Chapel of the Nove in 1321, as well as for decorations in the loggia. The Guidoriccio da Fogliano is dated 1328, while in 1329 he painted two angels for the Chapel of the Nove and in 1330 a figure of Marcus Regulus for the Sala del Consistoro. For a review of the documents see Paccagnini, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, IX, pp. 502–503. See also Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, II, p. 119. Cf. the bust of Christ surrounded by cherubs in the ceiling of what was the Chapel of the Nove (Cairola and Carli, *Il palazzo pubblico*, pp. 101f.). The Madonna which Padre Della Valle said Simone painted for the altar of the Chapel of the Nove and which was,

according to Della Valle, on the altar of the Cappella del Popolo until replaced by the Sodoma altarpiece (*Lettere senesi*, II, p. 88 and n. 2), may possibly be the one glimpsed in a Biccherna book for 1443 (A. Lisini, *Le tavolette dipinti di biccherna e di gabella . . .*, Florence, 1904, appendix, pl. 6).

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